



WIE WERDEN AUS KINDERN LESER?

Über imaginäre Freunde und andere
asymmetrische Interaktionen

Gerhard Lauer

Das Glück des Lesens

Wenn ich lese,
mach ich
keinen Käse.

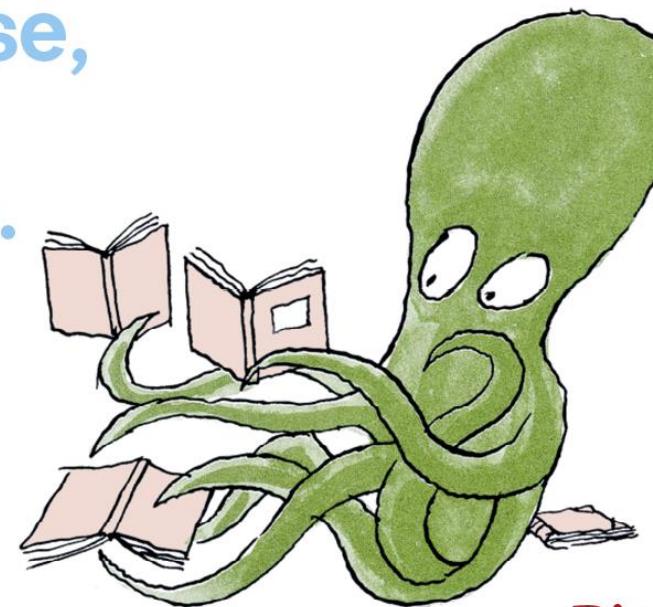


Illustration: Tomi Ungerer

Diogenes

SPIEGEL Panorama

Wissenschaftlich belegt: "Harry Potter"-Fans sind die besseren Menschen

Von Marc Röhligh
05.01.2017, 08.12 Uhr

A photograph of a young girl with long brown hair, wearing a white shirt and a red and yellow striped tie, looking down at a Harry Potter book she is holding. To her right is a book titled "Unnützes Wissen für Potter Fans" (Inoffensive Knowledge for Harry Potter Fans) by Joanne K. Rowling, featuring an owl on the cover. The background is blurred, showing what appears to be a fireplace or a warm indoor setting.

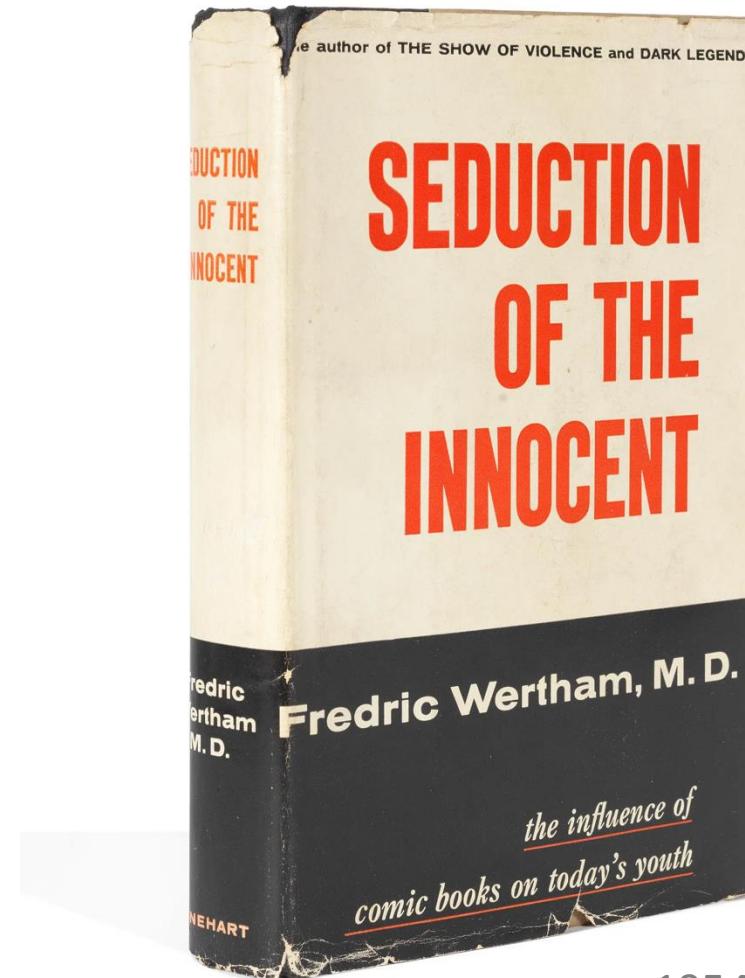
A set of small, light-gray social media sharing icons typically found in web articles, including symbols for Twitter, Facebook, email, print, and copy.

A close-up image of the Harry Potter book cover, showing the title "Harry Potter und die Heiligtümer des Todes" and the author's name "JOANNE K. ROWLING".

The front cover of the book "Unnützes Wissen für Potter Fans" by Joanne K. Rowling. It features a large yellow owl logo and the text "Die inoffizielle Sammlung". A red box on the bottom right corner contains the text "SPIEGEL Bestseller Platz 1".

A decorative red wax seal graphic with a stylized letter "G" or "J" inside, resembling a university crest.

Die Gefahren des Lesens



1954

Imagination

For sale: baby shoes, never worn.

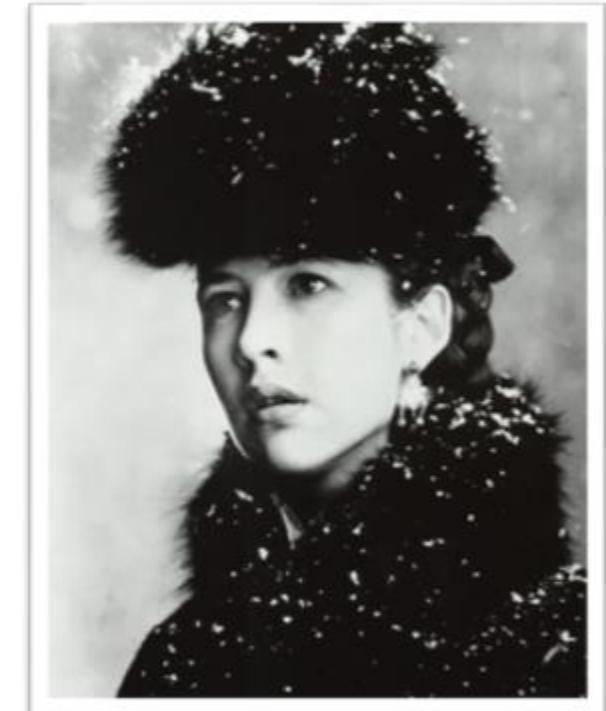


Ernest Hemingway

Warum weinen wir um Anna



Erstausgabe 1877/78

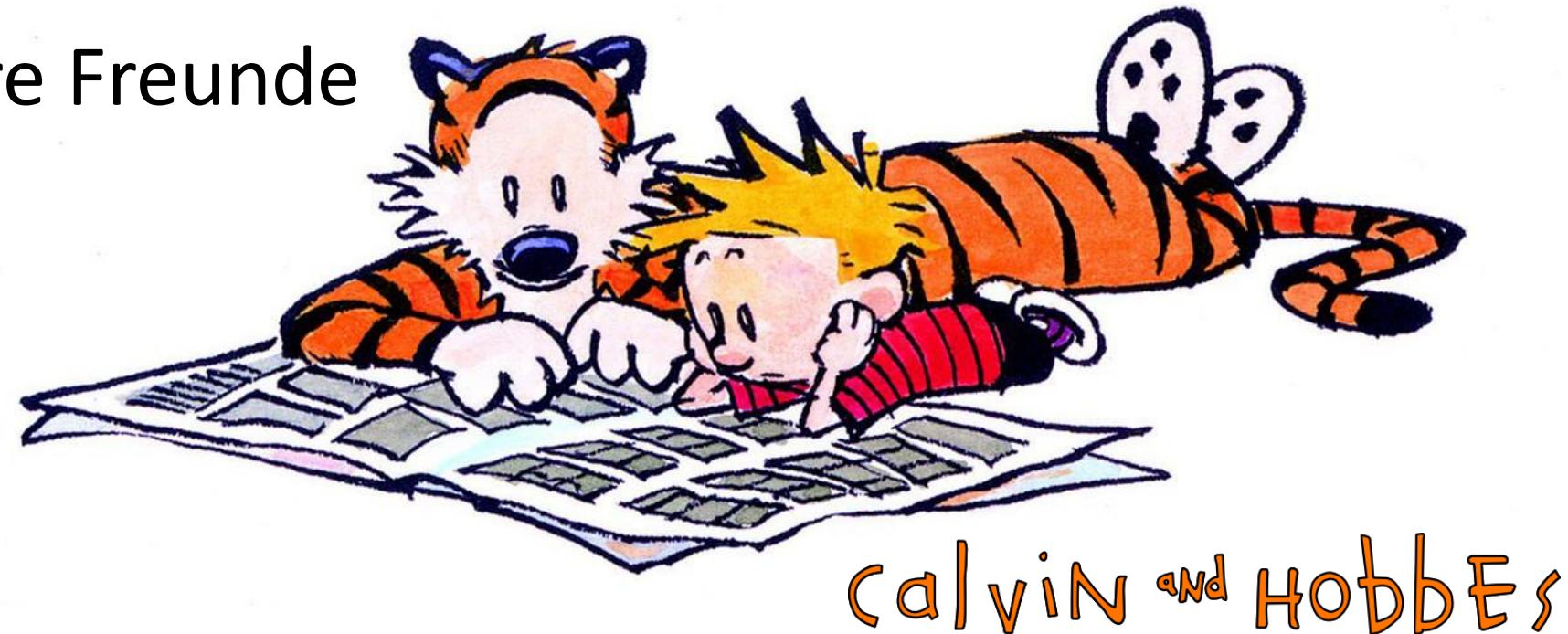


Sophie Marceau als Anna, 1997

Radford, C. & Weston, M. (1975)

Die Selbstverständlichkeit des Imaginären

Imaginäre Freunde



Imagination lernen

Zentralasien, 1931

“In the far North, where there is snow, all bears are white. Novaya Zemlya is in the far North, and there is always snow there. What color are the bears there?” A peasant replies: “There are different sorts of bears.” - The psychologist repeats the syllogism. **Peasant:** “I don't know. I've seen black bear. I've never seen any others... each locality has its own animals: if it's white, they will be white; if it's yellow, they will be yellow.” **Psychologist:** “But what kind of bears are there in Novaya Zemlya?” **Peasant:** “We always speak only of what we see; we don't talk about what we haven't seen.” ...

Luria, Alexander R. (1979). *The Making of Mind: A Personal Account of Soviet Psychology*. Edited by Michael Cole and Sheila Cole. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Imagination lernen

(a) “I am going to read you some little stories about things that will sound funny. But let’s pretend that everything in the stories **is true**. Okay, now I’m going to tell you the first story
...”

(b) “I am going to read you some little stories about things that will sound funny. But let’s pretend that I am telling you all about another planet. Everything in that planet **is different**. Okay, now I’m going to tell you the first story about that planet ...”

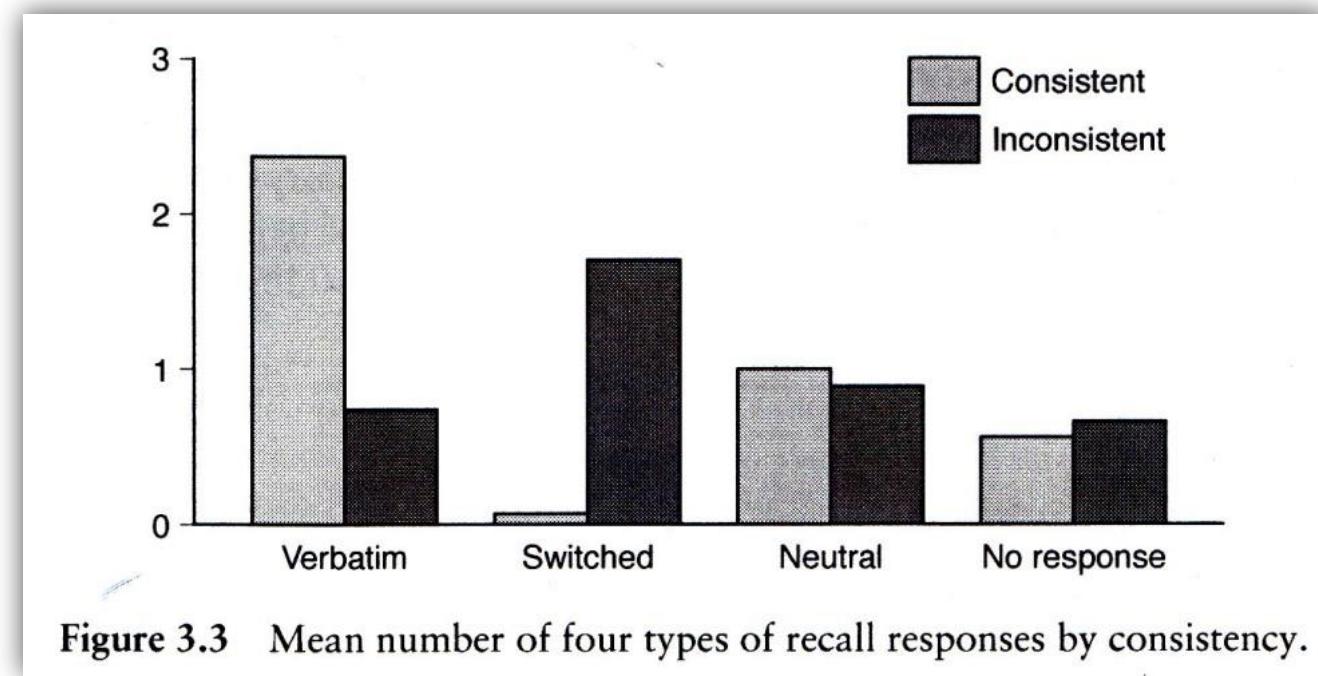
Roazzi & Harris (2005)



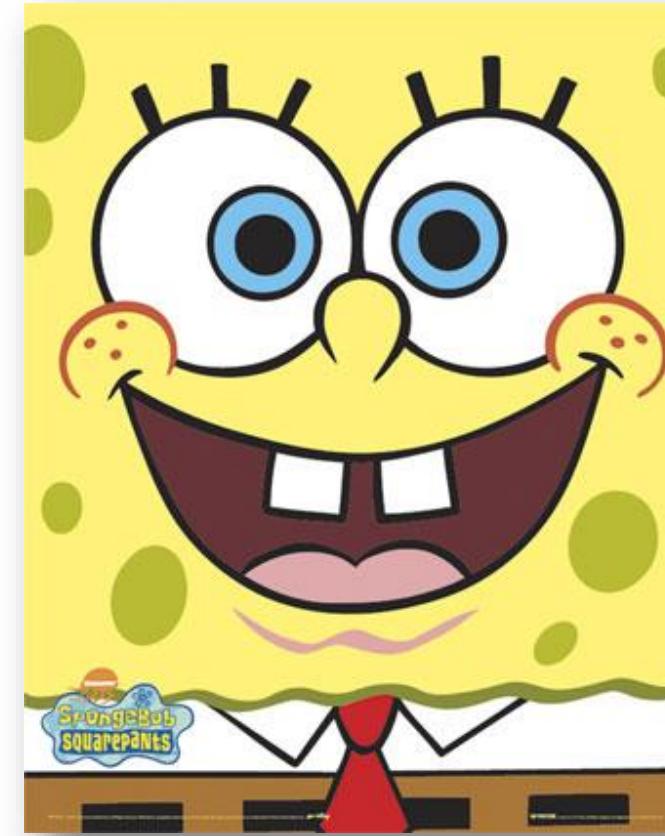
Erzählperspektiven lernen

In Aschenputtels Schuhen

- (a) Little Red Riding Hood was sitting in her bedroom when her mother came in and asked her to go to Grandmother's house.
- (b) Cinderella was sitting on the chair by the fireplace, dreaming about the ball. Then her fairy godmother went into the cottage.



Ontologien fiktionaler Welten



Skolnick, D. & Bloom, P. (2006)

Zaubern geht doch (fast)



Geschichte von
der magischen
Box und dem
Mädchen Mara:
„Alpha, beta,
gamma“



Förderung prosozialen

- Wer Bücher schreibt und liest,
verhaltens liest auch Gesichter besser
(Mind in the Eye-Test)
- Imagination fördert Selbstregulation
(Mental Contrasting with
Implementation Intentions (MCII),
Promoting Alternative Thinking
Strategies (PATHS) intervention



Taylor et al. 2003; Mar et al. 2009; Mol & Bos 2011; Johnson 2012; Masley et al. 2017

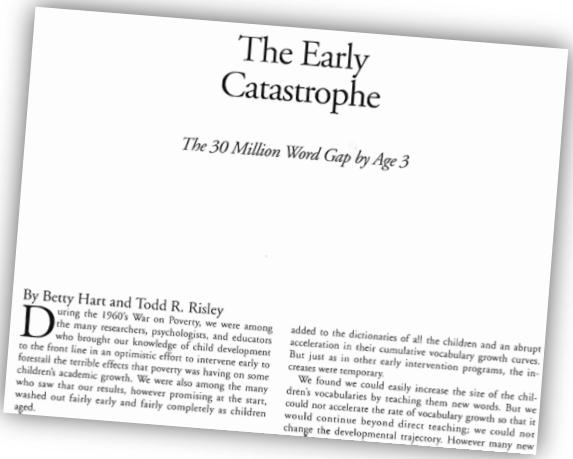
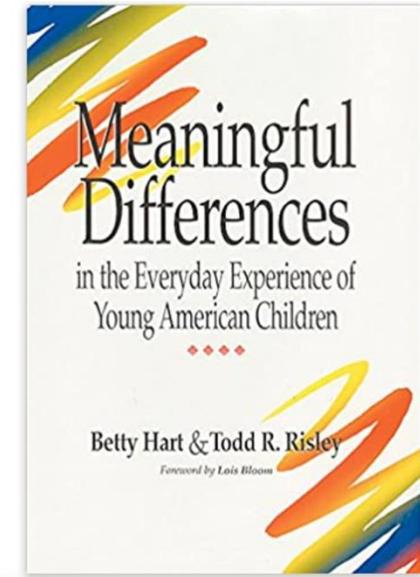
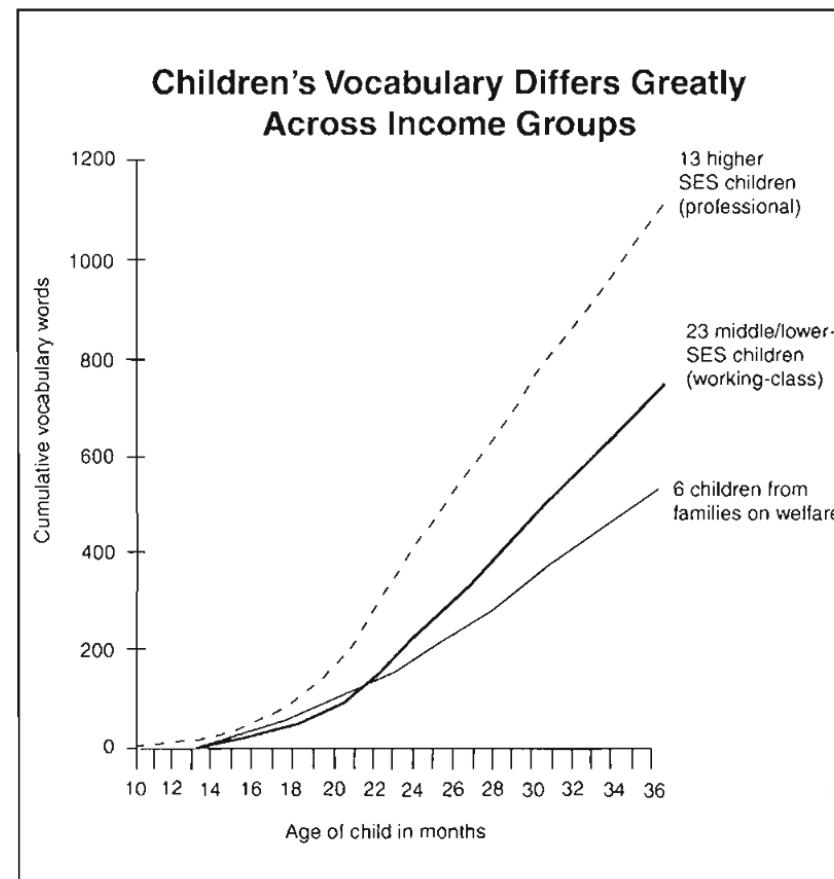
Greenberg et al., 1995; Schunk et al., 2022

„30 Million Word Gap“

Hart & Risley (2003),
*The Early Catastrophe:
The 30 Million Word Gap
by Age 3*

Studie
mit sehr kleinem Sample
(10-15 Familien
pro SES-Schicht)

Hat verschiedene Förder-
Programme angestoßen



Sprachsozialisation

Deb Roy, 2009

https://dam-prod.media.mit.edu/x/files/cogmac/publications/Roy_interspeech_keynote.pdf

https://www.ted.com/talks/deb_roy_the_birth_of_a_word

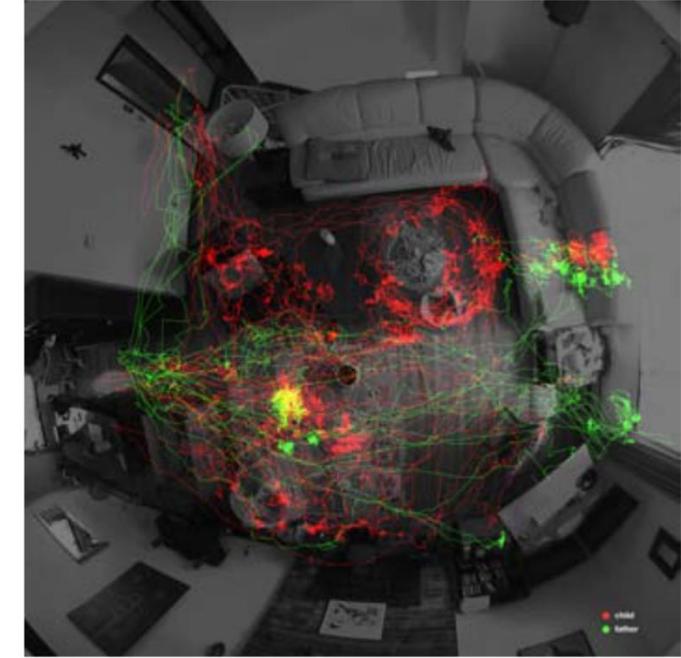
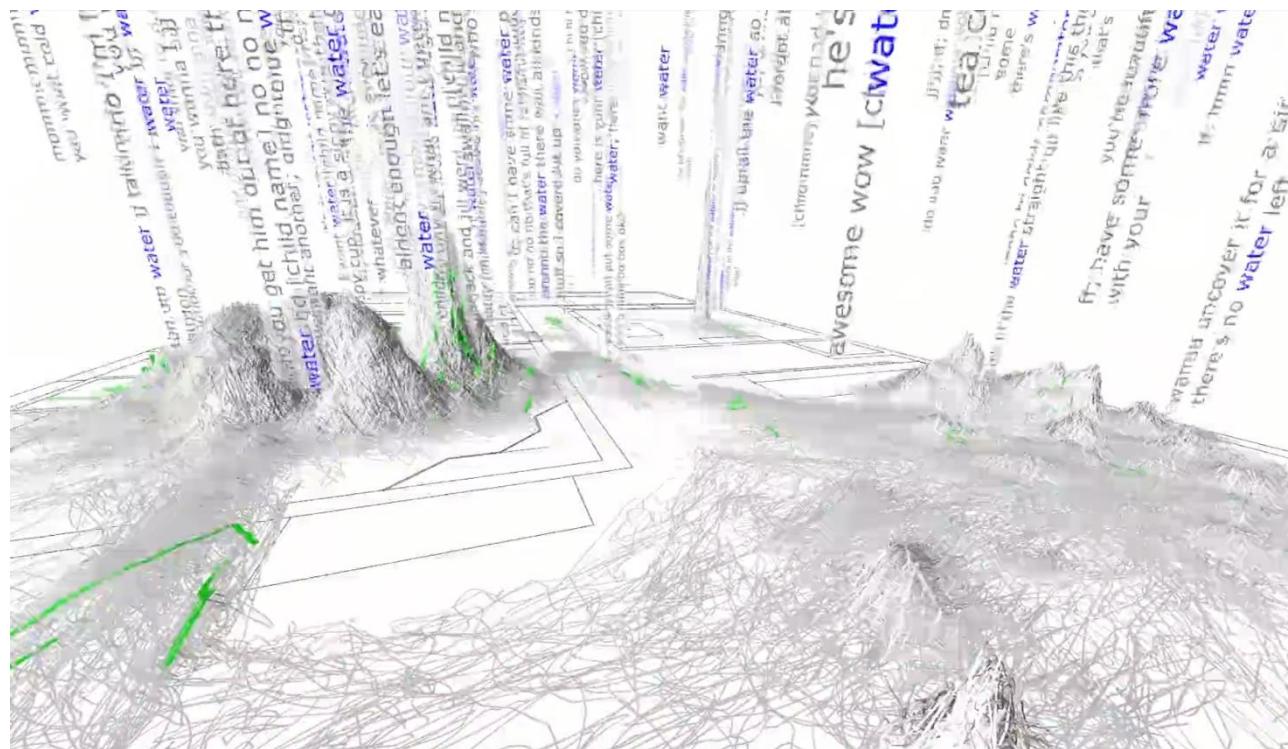


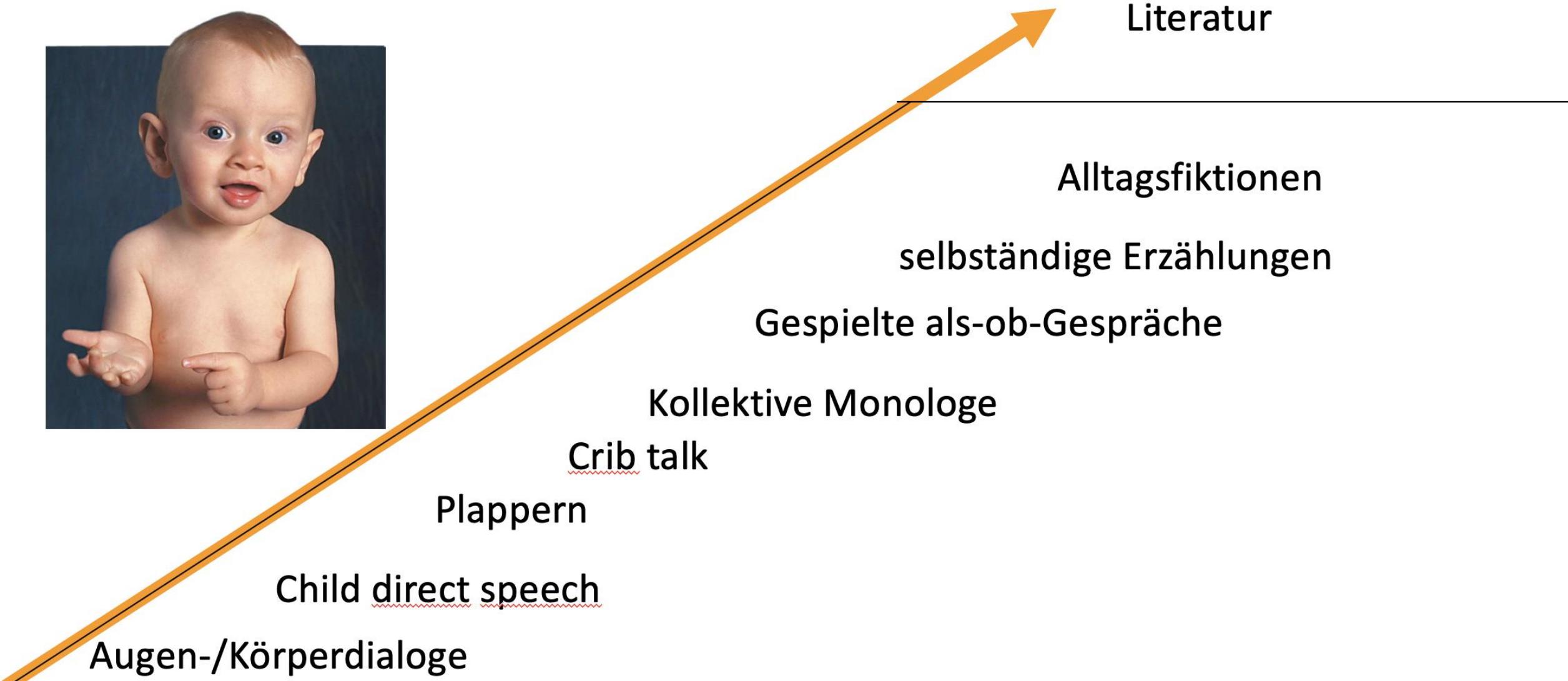
Figure 9: Sixty minutes of father (green) and child (red) position traces in the living room reveal two social hot spots.

Discourse Acquisition Support System

Jerome Bruners Language Acquisition Support System (LASS): interaktiver Spracherwerb, der basierend auf dem angeborenen Kernwissen der Kinder gemeinsam geteilte Aufmerksamkeit zwischen Kindern und Alloeltern herstellt, um die Welt sprachlich zu erfassen und zugleich die Sprache darüber zu lernen

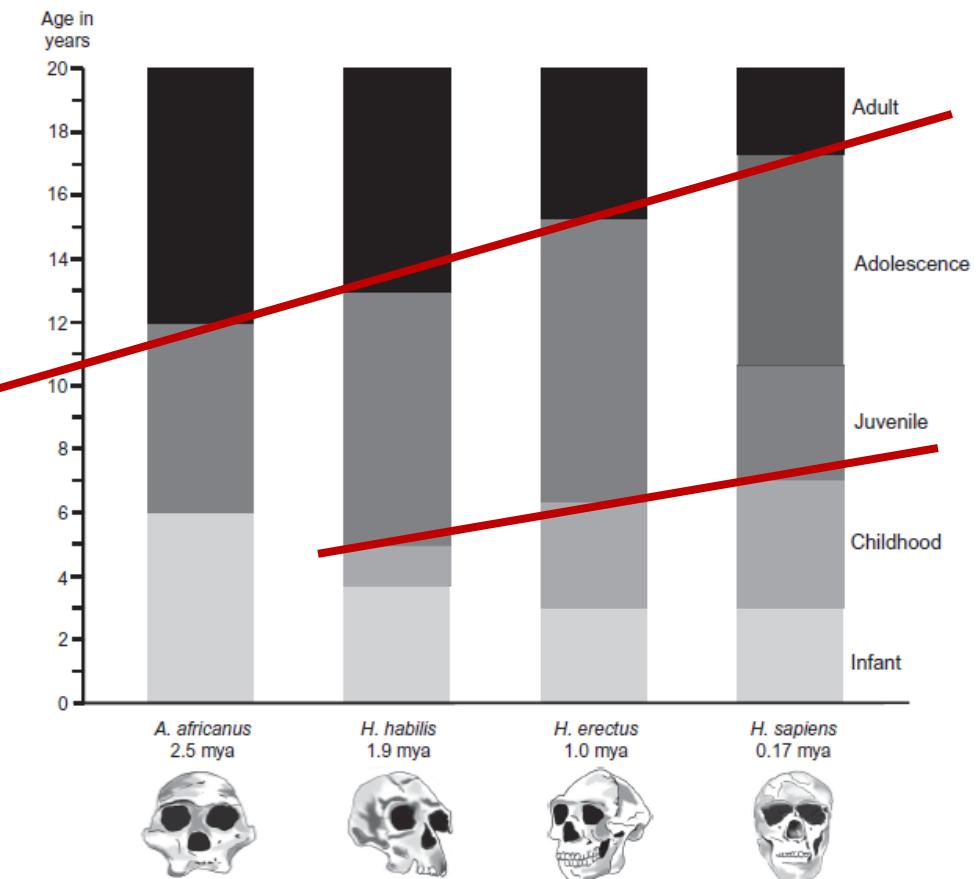
Formate der gemeinsamen Sprachhandlung bieten eine Mapping-Aktivität, bei der das Kind lernt, Wörter und Phrasen mit den richtigen Objekten und Ereignissen zu verknüpfen und so diskursive/narrative Zusammenhänge zu begreifen -> Erweiterung zu einer Discourse Acquistion Support System (DASS)

Diskurs- und Rollenerwerb

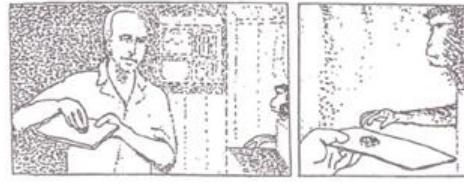


Evolution der Kindheit, Jugend und Adoleszenz

- Soziale Kognition als Funktion der wachsenden Gehirngröße
- Wachsende Gruppengrößen in größeren Arealen mit diverseren Ernährungstechniken und mehr Kommunikation



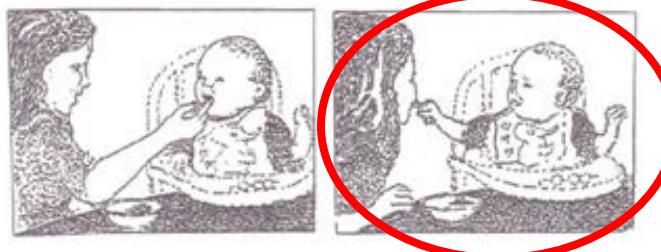
Evolution der sozialen Kognition



Macaques



Chimpanzees



Humans

Altrocentric
Personality

Bråten, 2007

Warum gerade wir?

Evolution der Ultrasozialität

- Evolutionäre Singularität: Kooperation mit den Alloeltern (horizontale und ‘schräge’ Wissensweitergabe, nicht-kompetitiver Tauschen und Mindreading, mehr Augenkommunikation, Zeigegesten u.a)
- Kooperatives Ernährung durch Sammeln/Jagen und kooperatives Aufziehen von Kindern gehören zusammen

Hrdy, 2009

Tomasello & Gonzalez-Cabrera, 2017

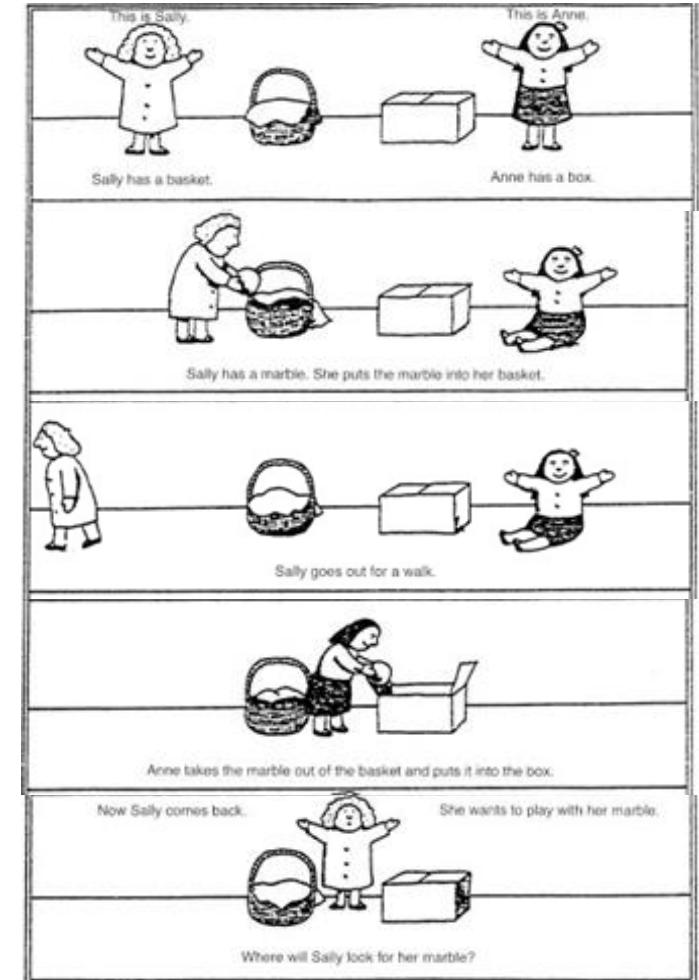
Shared Intentionality and Natural Paedagogy

„Collective intentionality presupposes [...] a sense of others as more than mere conscious agents, indeed as actual or potential members of a cooperative activity [...] The biologically primitive sense of the other person as a candidate for shared intentionality is a necessary condition of all collective behaviour and hence of all conversation.“

False Belief Test

Was denken ich,
dass der andere denkt?

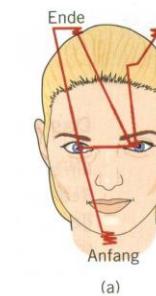
- ab 4 Jahren oder
- ab 15 Monaten oder noch früher?



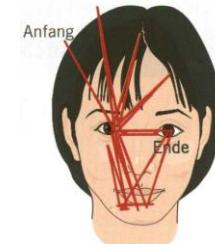
Erste Dialoge

Infants between 12 and 21 days of age can imitate both facial and manual gestures; this behavior cannot be explained in terms of either conditioning or innate releasing mechanisms. Such imitation implies that human neonates can equate their own unseen behaviors with gestures they see others perform.

Meltzoff & Moore, 1977



(a)



(b)

Fixation protocol one → two month old baby

The Poetics of Babytalk

When mormor get me,
when Mormor mae pretty,
Mommy had a help, my sleep,
Mommy came and Mommy get, get up, time to go home.
When my slep and, and, Mormor came.
Then Mommy coming then get up, time to go ho-o-me.
Time to go home.
Drink p-water [Perrier].
Yesterday did that.
Now Emmy sleeping in regular bed.

Daiute & Lightfoot, 2003
Miall & Dissanayake, 2003

Table 1. Transcript of Babytalk: Sequence of 64 Seconds with Mother and Liam (aged 8 weeks)

Oh, what you say? You going to tell me a story?
Tell me a story, then. Tell me a story.
Really! Ah, that's a good story!
That's a good story, tell me more.
Tell me more. Tell me more, yes?
[Ah!] Come on then.
You're struggling, trying to get out of the chair.
You're trying to get out of there, yeah?
You want your own chair, don't you.
You want your own chair.
Do you want your own chair?
Do you? Liam?
Do you want your own chair?
Is it better? Is it better?
Is it better than that one?
Better than that one?
Is it better than that one?
Yes. Yes.

Ohhh
Big yawns! Big yawns!
Oh your ear's all squashed.
Your ear's squashed.
Have you got a squashed ear, yeah.

Sequence recorded in the laboratory of Professor Colwyn Trevarthen, University of Edinburgh, U.K., and used here with permission.

Spracherwerb

Erlernen der Wortbedeutung

durch joint attention, Intentionsattribution (gaze following, Deiktika u.a.):

- z.B. Kinder (ab 4 Jahre) meiden für zögerlich, für unwissend gehaltene Gesprächspartner
- Anstieg der Ausdrücke für mentale Zustände (glauben, wünschen, meinen usw.), aber nicht im selben Umfang bei autistischen Kindern
- Unterschiedliche Befähigung zur Imagination aus Worten z.B. bedingt durch Aphantastik

Erzählen

- Expressive Elaboration der erzählerischen Fähigkeiten
- Narrative Kunstfertigkeiten korrelieren mit narrative Komplexität, Erzählproduktivität, lexikalischer Vielfalt und dem standardisierten Maß für allgemeine sprachlichen Fähigkeiten (T-units)

Glenn-Applegate et al., 2010

Frequencies of Artful Elements in Children's Spoken Narratives

| <i>Artful Code</i> | <i>Children Using the Code</i> <i>n (%)</i> | <i>Occurrence per Narrative</i> <i>M (SD)</i> |
|----------------------|--|--|
| Appendages | 22 (51.16) | 0.65 (0.75) |
| Introducers | 4 (9.30) | 0.09 (0.29) |
| Abstracts | 2 (4.65) | 0.05 (0.21) |
| Enders | 21 (48.84) | 0.51 (0.55) |
| Orientations | 31 (72.09) | 2.40 (3.10) |
| Relationships | 7 (16.28) | 0.28 (0.70) |
| Personality Features | 26 (60.47) | 1.63 (2.30) |
| External Conditions | 10 (25.58) | 0.49 (1.18) |
| Evaluations | 42 (97.67) | 15.60 (10.59) |
| Adjectives | 32 (74.42) | 2.53 (2.56) |
| Adverbs | 39 (90.70) | 8.63 (7.05) |
| Interjections | 3 (6.98) | 0.07 (0.26) |
| Repetitions | 6 (16.28) | 0.23 (0.72) |
| Internal States | 24 (58.14) | 1.47 (1.72) |
| Dialogue | 18 (44.19) | 0.91 (1.44) |
| Humor | 14 (39.53) | 0.70 (1.46) |
| Beyond the Page | 14 (34.88) | 0.40 (0.62) |
| Stress | 13 (32.56) | 0.70 (1.44) |
| Artful Total | 42 (97.67) | 18.67 (12.59) |

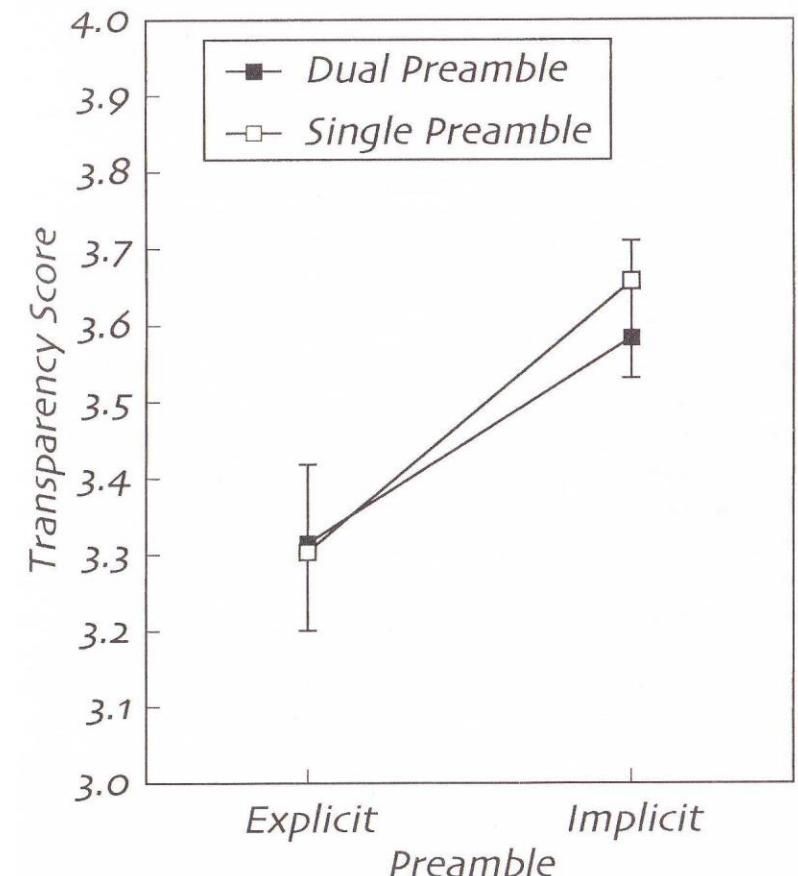
Explizites vs. implizites

Implicit (Original) Preamble

But here comes the disclosure which is not easy for me: I am a writer. That does not sound right. Too presumptuous; phony, or at least unconvincing. Try again. I write. Is that better? I try to write. That makes it worse. Hypocritical humility. Well then? It doesn't matter. However I put it, the words create their space of silence, the delicate moment of exposure. But people are kind, the silence is quickly absorbed by the solicitude of friendly voices, crying variously, how wonderful, and good for you, and well, that is intriguing. And what do you write, they inquire with spirit. Fiction, I reply, bearing my humiliation by this time with ease, even a suggestion of flippancy, which was not always mine, and again, again, the perceptible circles of dismay are smoothed out by such ready and tactful voices – which have however exhausted their stock of consolatory phrases, and can say only, "Ah!"

Explicit Preamble

I feel embarrassed telling people that I am a writer because I have noticed that the typical reaction to such claims is one mixed with sympathy and amusement. It is almost like they want to ask me what I really do for a living. It seems to me that writers do not get any respect until they are commercially successful. I also get the sense that people do not take writers seriously, so this makes my admission of being one all the more uncomfortable to make.



Aus digitalen Medien lernen



Narrative: A good story has...

Humour

Unexpected turn of events

Content that is of interest to both children and adults

Pauses for reflection

Diverse story characters:

(for examples see [30 Picture Books to Promote Black Representation in Children's Literature](#))



Text: A good story is...

Easy to read

Memorable

Vocabulary:

Uses words that are specific and new to children (e.g names of birds or trees)

Legibility:

Written in font that is displayed on yellow or white background without illustrations



Illustrations...

High-contrast colours

Simple characters that can be re-created as objects for drama/puppet play

Illustrations do not depict only nouns/static objects but also verbs/movement and actions

Illustrations show characters' emotions

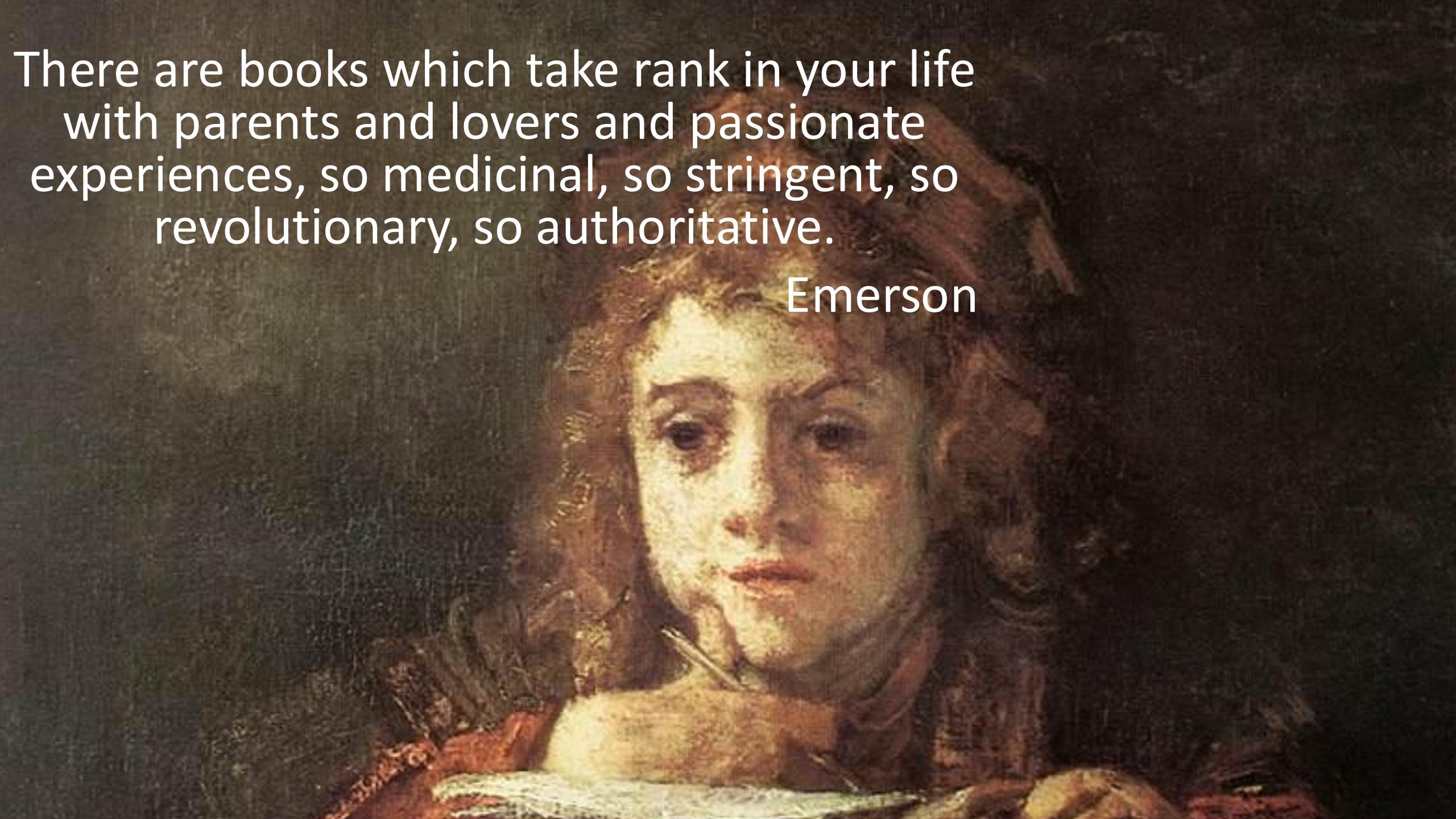
Illustrations encourage further imagination

Good digital stories...

- engage the parent through guiding questions
- include embedded analytics
- include music and voiceovers
- offer options for personalising and sharing
- offer children direct interaction with the narrative

Aus Kindern werden Leser

- Evolution der Ultrasozialität und sozialen Kognition
- Alterozentrische Personalität vom ersten Tag an in einem Alloeltern-Umfeld
- Disourse Acquisition Support System (DASS)
- Spielerisch-sprachliche Imagination und Narration/Poesie als Bedingung der Möglichkeit von prosozialer Persönlichkeit



There are books which take rank in your life
with parents and lovers and passionate
experiences, so medicinal, so stringent, so
revolutionary, so authoritative.

Emerson

Referenzen

- Anna Abraham, The Cambridge Handbook of the Imagination, 2020
- Jerome Bruner, Child Talks. Learning to Use Language, 1983
- Sarah Hrdy, Mothers and Others. The Evolutionary Origins of Mutual Understanding, 2009
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